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Vol. XIII

NEW YORK, MAY 17, 1920

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#### ON AN ALLEGED INCONSISTENCY IN THE AENEID

(Between 2.781 and Book 3)

Toward the end of Aeneid 2, the departed Creusa, appearing to her husband, makes the following prediction1:

et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.

This prophecy, uttered under impressive and presumably memorable circumstances, seems through Book 3 to be wholly forgotten or ignored. Aeneas drifts hither and you at the bidding of a spurt of blood or a spell of pestilence, and not until the book is almost a quarter completed has he a hint of the real location of his ultimate destination; then a second vision, that of the Penates, gives him further instruction2.

Why this waste of energy and augury? Is it in keeping with Aeneas's pietas or with his equally customary thoughtfulness and deliberation thus to remain indifferent to a helpful prophecy of a dearly-loved wife? Have we a real inconsistency, which Vergil, given more time, would have removed?

It is highly improbable that Vergil would have modified the plan of Book 3, his miniature Odyssey. Yet I, for one, should be very sorry if the passage in Book 2 had to be surrendered or even altered. It emphasizes an idea-or rather a combination of two ideas-that Vergil never fails to stress. He introduces it in the first words of the second<sup>3</sup> line of the poem-Italiam Fato: Aeneas goes to Italy by fate's decree.

That the idea of fate is predominant in the Aeneid scarcely needs illustration4. It is proclaimed not only at the beginning of the poem, but also at the outset of Aeneas's narrative. We meet it first, chronologically, when Hector appears before him, bringing the first intimation of his fixed destiny. The vision of Hector, at the commencement of that awful night is well balanced by that of Creusa at its close. But she does not merely repeat the assurance of Hector that the Fates have marked out the path Aeneas is to follow: she mentions Hesperia, his destination. The effect is cumulative. We have, at last, both the obverse and the reverse-fato and Italiam (or, as we shall see later, not quite Italiam yet, but something approximating it). Hector gives us the means alone; Creusa adds the end.

<sup>1</sup>2.781-782. <sup>2</sup>3.163-168. <sup>2</sup>Or, at all events, the sixth. <sup>4</sup>Compare 1.205-206, 257-258, 382; 3.7, 375, 395; 4.225; 0.94; 10.67, 113, 471-472; 11.232; 12.27-28, 676-677, 726-727. <sup>3</sup>2.270 ff.

It is the same cumulative process of building up bit by bit, but on a larger scale, that we get in Book 3. There, as in an ancient tragedy, the striking effect is due to the gradual revelation to the personages concerned of something that all the while has been completely visible to the audience. For the audience represented by the readers of the Aeneid this disclosure, introductory to the entire work, takes place in 1.1-7. For the audience represented by Dido a similar disclosure, prefatory to the particular tale of Aeneas's wanderings, is contained in the lines spoken by Creusa.

Quite in line with this tendency, and also a part of the regular epic machinery, is the constant use by Vergil of prediction<sup>6</sup>. It seems natural that Creusa should have her share in the numerous prophecies intimately concerning her husband, especially since she has entered the service of the Great Mother of the Gods.

Creusa, it will be noted, particularly mentions the Tiber, which Vergil, in accordance with a very common usage, repeatedly employs as a sort of type or symbol of the whole region7. Later, Aeneas does practically the same thing. He has heard of the Tiber from no other source than Creusa: surely his words are but an echo of hers9.

Now, Creusa could hardly refer to the Tiber without naming the district through which it flows. If, then, the critic cuts out Creusa's words because her reference to Hesperia involves a (seeming) inconsistency (why does Aeneas not know about it?), he will introduce another inconsistency by omitting her reference to the Tiber (how does Aeneas know about it?): incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim<sup>10</sup>.

Again, if the Creusa scene is omitted, Aneas's subsequent conduct would seem decidedly callous; and callous Aeneas is not, Dido's hysterical defenders notwithstanding. To be sure, he never mentions Creusa, or teaches his boy to mourn for her; Ascanius's only. reference to his dead mother occurs when he promises to look upon another woman in the light of a mother": 'and the name of Creusa only shall she lack'. Aeneas

Compare 5.707; 6.87, 873; 7.242, 303; 8.540; Horace, Carm. 2.9.21, 20.20; 3.20.28.

\*3.500-501; 5.82-83.

\*2.781-782.

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<sup>\*</sup>Compare 1.257 ff.; 3.94 ff., 247 ff., 358 ff. 4.345-346, 622 ff.; 6.42 ff., 756 ff.; 7.59 ff., 71 ff., 96 ff.; 8.31 ff., 338 ff., 499 ff., 626 ff.; 9.93 ff.; 10.11 ff., 228 ff.; 12.27-28.
\*Compare 5.797; 6.87, 873; 7.242, 303; 8.540; Horace, Carm.

himself is not unready to provide a substitute for Creusa: first Didois, then Lavinia. Such behavior, at first blush, may seem lacking in his wonted pietas; but really he is simply obeying Creusa's last behest13. Without this preparation, Latinus's offer of his daughter's hand to Aeneas, when the latter comes seeking a political alliance only14, might seem slightly sudden, to say the least; but, under the circumstances, we understand it and Aeneas understands it, and accepts it joyously15, without even his accustomed hesitation and appeal to the gods for guidance. The guidance is his

Again, our knowledge that, can Aeneas but escape the obstacles in his way, he is destined to marry and live happy on Lavinian shores, adds to our suspense while he lingers in Carthage a prisoner to Dido's seductive spell. Will another regnum, another regia coniunx, replace those destined for him by Providence? Dido herself seems to hope so. Aeneas's conscientious announcement to his charming hostess that he is on his way to seek an unknown but certain bride may have seemed a little naïve, a little tactless (like Venus's request to Vulcan for arms for her mortal son16); but it is wholly without effect on Dido. Perhaps, with her customary unbalanced intensity, she hopes that she can twist the Fates without wholly thwarting them, and can transfer the promised realm and royal spouse from Latium to Carthage. Perhaps she is merely struck by one more parallel between her lot and his; she, too, has had a vision of a departed consort returned to inform and counsel her!!!

The Creusa scene, then, is highly desirable, even indispensable. But is it consistent with the rest of the

One obvious way out of the difficulty is to say that in Creusa's speech Hesperia does not mean a particular country, but means merely 'the Western land'15. Creusa is, then, not very specific. Yet, even if Hesperia is to her a definite land, Aeneas is quite justified in interpreting the word merely as a general designation (it is only the Greeks who bestow the name on Italy20); and he is obeying Creusa sufficiently if he pursues his course in a general westerly direction.

This he certainly does. Thrace, the first stop, is West of Troy. Probably Vergil has in mind, though he does not specifically mention it<sup>21</sup>, Aenos, at the \*mouth of the Hebrus, which is to the West of Troy. From Thrace Aeneas goes to Delos, thence to Crete.

To Crete he probably travels due south from Delos, thus landing a little to the West of the Thracian colony, itself to the West of Troy. After Crete it is all plain sailing-West23.

Now, I would not venture to say that Hesperia means nothing but 'a Western land'. In Vergil, on the contrary, it is undoubtedly 'the Western land', that is, Italy. The words of the Penates prove that24. Still, the name Hesperia might well be used by Creusaor, what comes to the same thing, be interpreted by Aeneas<sup>26</sup>—merely of 'a Western land' (though it means Italy elsewhere, always, however, I believe, with a secondary reference to the location of Italy in the

If the name Hesperia is not so used, in the sense of a Western land, what principle of selection has Vergil employed in his choice of a designation for the land we know as Italy? His three names for it-Hesperia, Ausonia, Italia-are metrically equivalent. He seems to use Italia and Ausonia27 without distinction; but, wherever Hesperia occurs, there is present a slight nuance lacking in the two other terms.

Of course, another basis of discrimination-not geographical, but linguistic-might be proposed. The Penates do indeed say28 that it is the Greeks who call the land Hesperia. But in fact lines of linguistic differentiation are regularly ignored. Trojans, Greeks, Tyrians, and Italians communicate one with another without interpreters29.

Besides, if we assume that Vergil adopted this principle, we must admit that he was most inconsistent in applying it. The gods, who, despite their Latin names, are thoroughly Hellenic conceptions, presumably talk Greek; yet they always speak of Italia or Ausonia, never of Hesperia30. So the Trojans, whose tongue surely is Greek rather than Latin<sup>31</sup>, use Hesperia only occasionally, in (as I hope to show later) certain highly specialized instances32. Finally, the Greek

III is to be noted that the affair with Dido, represensible for

<sup>&</sup>quot;It is to be noted that the affair with Dido, repre'ensible for other reasons, is never condemned by Vergil because of any involved dislovalty to Creuss, though Dido's guilt resulting from her want of fidelity to Sychaeus is repeatedly stressed (e.g. 4.19, 27, 552).

"See particularly 2.776, 778-770, 783-784, "7.253, 268 ff. 187, 288."

"Ancidentally (though Professor Wetmore, Index Verborum Vergilianus, does not so classify it), Hesperiam in this passage may be interpreted as an adjective, "Western". It is possible that Professor Sellar so regards it, for he says (Virgil), 320): "The shade of Creusa gives to Aeneas the first intimation of his settlement in a western land". Perchance there may even be seen latent in this sentence the germ of the idea advanced in the present paper (which was written before I had read the statement just quoted); but nowhere else, so far as I know, does Sellar touch upon the matter.

"Comtrast the Penates, 3.163, 165, 166, 170-171."

"3.163."

Compare Servius on 3.18, and Conington on the passage.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The start from Delos insures arrival at a point which may be termed West of Troy. Had Aeneas gone from Troy to Crete by the shortest route, he would not have needed to sail West at all.

"We encounter, to be stre, just one puff of contrary wind—the Zephyri of 3.120. Why should Aeneas sacrifice to the West wind? The leading commentators are strangely silent on this point. Heinze says nothing on this verue. Conington's note gives no help at all. Professor Knapp alone, with characteristic acumen, goes to the heart of the matter: Zephyri he explains as "properly the west winds, which were usually gentle and helpful, but here 'zephyrs' in the modern sense. The west wind would not help one much in a voyage from Delos to Crete".—We may compare 4.223; Ovid, Amores 2.11.41, with Professor Harrington's note on this passage (in The Roman Elegiac Poets, page 380).

"3.163.—166. "Oracles and predictions are often misread. Compare 3.94 ff. "With the word Hiberus the process is reversed. In 7.663, 9.582, Georgics 3.408, Vergil uses it of a particular nation, Spain, but in 11.913 it is used of the West in general (the point of view being that of one in Italy), though there is a secondary reference to the special country.

"Nor does he differentiate the corresponding adjectives: see e.g. 3.381, 385; 4.230, 236; 4.345, 346, 349; 5.82, 83; 9.133, 136; 10.32, 41, 54; 10.105, 109; 12.183, 180.

"3.163. "Such an additional element would be most disturbing e.g. in the love scenes of Book 4 or the quarrel scene of Book 9 (598 ft.). The reference to language in 12.825, 834 is the work of Vergil the antiquarian, not of Vergil the epic poet.

"See 1.68, 333, 263; 4.230, 236; 4.57; 10.8, 32, 54, 67. "Compare Gilbert Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epics, 69; "It is clear in the earliest records that the Trojan chiefs are of the same race as the Achaeans. There is no difference of language".

"For the Trojans' use of Ausonia and Italia see 3.185, 364, 381, 458, 477, 479, 496, 523–524; 6.718, 807.

settler Evander uses the Italian term Italus<sup>33</sup>, and the Italian champion Turnus uses the (supposedly) Greek term Hesperia34! For all this my own view of the meaning of Hesperia will account satisfactorily30.

In Vergil, outside of the Aeneid, and in the Appendix Vergiliana, Hesperia, Hesperius, and Hesperis always refer to the West<sup>36</sup>. The reference is sometimes to the evening star<sup>37</sup>, sometimes to the apples of the Hesperides28. For this latter sense compare also Aen. 4.48489. Elsewhere in the Aeneid Hesperius and Hesperia are used of a specific country, Italy, but Italy considered as the land of the West.

The earliest use of the word Hesperia (earliest chronologically, I mean) occurs in the line which serves as the starting-point for the present discussion40. Aeneas, I think, interprets Creusa's words, terram Hesperiam, as meaning simply some country to the West, and the point is not referred to again till it is definitely cleared up by the Penates<sup>41</sup>. The Penates begin by saying, 'There is a place-the Western landthe Greeks so call it'e. Here is the first clew. Aeneas must know that Hesperia is a western land (to Greek, Trojan, Roman that idea is inherent in the word), but he does not know that the particular Western land here involved is the Western land to the Greeks-Italy48. Hence, the Penates give further information: this is the country of the Oenotrians44; it is called also Italia or the Ausonian realms. If Aeneas understood Creusa's reference at once, why are the Penates at such pains to make the point clear to him?47

When Aeneas repeats to his father the words of the Penates, the latter recalls that Cassandra had spoken in the same terms, naming Hesperia, the Italian kingdoms45. But of course no one had given heed to her. We need not be surprised that Cassandra, unlike her fellow Trojans, knew that the special Western land in question was Italy; she is a mystic person set apart from her countrymen by her peculiar gift of prophecy.

Illioneus repeats, word for word, to Dido the explanation of the Penates49. When he comes to his own words, his own purposes, he naturally says Italia<sup>50</sup>, the proper term for one speaking in Carthage. So Dido, by a sort of echo of his mention and explanation of the name Hesperia, uses it herself<sup>51</sup> in her immediate reply, at once qualifying it, however, by adding Saturniaque arva (que is 'epexegetical'). She thus removes any possibility of ambiguity. Elsewhere she speaks differently82. Aeneas, too, mentions Hesperia85 once while he is in Carthage; but here again we have a mere echo of the earlier prophecies<sup>54</sup>.

Elsewhere the term Hesperia is avoided by those in Carthage, naturally, since Italy lay to the Northeast 15. Likewise Italy is not called Hesperia in relation to Sicilys, except in two passages.

In the more difficult of these two passages, Allecto, leaving Italy to report to Junos, deserit Hesperiam. Now Juno, when last located specifically, was in Sicily<sup>68</sup>. Since that time she has 'sought the earth'30, to summon Allecto, and has apparently had an interview with Jupiter<sup>60</sup>, for which the most natural place would be Olympus. But where does Allecto rejoin her? If Juno is still on Olympus, or if she has returned to Sicily, why does Allecto fly back to mid-Italy to find a means of access to Hades? Juno might be viewing the strife from Italy itselfs: but in that case why did Allecto leave Hesperia? In short, the whole passage seems confused and inconsistent; perhaps Vergil had not visualized in absolute detail the scenes he is presenting. If he had not, we cannot deduce very decisive arguments in reference to his use of Hesperia in verse 543.

The other passage dealing with Sicily is considerably simpler. Helenus tells Aeneas that this country was separated by the force of the billows from the Hesperian shore. This statement is made from the point of view of a Trojan dwelling in Greece. Aeneas, too, in the conversation with Helenus, employs the name Hesperia<sup>64</sup>, suitable, surely, to a speaker in Epirus.

When the Trojans finally arrive in Italy, the young men leap out upon the Hesperian shore. This may seem less appropriate; but the country is viewed, 1 think, not absolutely, but rather as the goal of the long wanderings that tended ever Westward. The beginning of Book 6 marks the definite step from East to West; the use of Hesperia, in the opening paragraph of the book, seems to emphasize the transition. But the real, great division comes between Book 6 and Book 7; at the beginning of Book 7, too, the transition is marked by the use of the word Hesperia<sup>67</sup>.

However, though Aeneas has now reached his West-

must serve. 43.165. 43.166. 43.170-171. 47Compare 3.210 ff., where Aeneas gives similar needed explanations to Dido. 483.185-186. 491.530 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>1.569. <sup>52</sup>4.355. <sup>53</sup>He is thinking, plainly, of his manifest destiny: note his addition, falalibus arvis. Mercury, however, who has no need of the interposition of Creusa or the Penates, since he has had a revelation direct from Jupiter, says Italia (4.275), as Jupiter had done

ern goal, he is still, perforce, the Easterner, the alien. He is in Hesperia, but not of it; and so he finds all Hesperia in arms against him68. Again69, we have a peculiar Latin usage—the opening of the gates of Janus-particularly explained, as if for the benefit of aliens; it is therefore appropriately called 'the custom in Hesperian Latium'70. Here 'Hesperian' may mean merely 'Western'. So, too, may Hesperidum (or hesperidum, as Ribbeck prints) in 8.77. There Aeneas, calling the Tiber 'the king-river of Hesperian waters', tacitly compares it with the great and famous streams he has known in his Eastern home71.

Aeneas is still the alien when he goes to King Evander to enlist his aid against the Latins. He speaks here of Hesperia -- the last time, except one, that the word occurs in the poem. With the alliance between the Trojans and the Arcadians, which leads to the federation with the Etruscans, Aeneas ceases to be an outsider. The strife that follows is essentially civil war; it is not Hesperian, Western, it is Italian, domestic. The Trojans now use Italia and Ausonia even as the

natives use them?1.

The one use of Hesperia74 in these later books is attributed to lips from which, at first thought, it seems to come rather strangely-those of Turnus. Elsewhere, as we might expect, he says Italia75 or Ausonia76. But now, in the full flush of an unexpected and glorious triumph, he is taunting his fallen foe, and through him Aeneas, with the vanity of his quest, and Hesperiam sums up all Aeneas's struggles to reach that elusive, ever-retreating Western land, only to end in what for the moment seems like hopeless defeat.

We have seen that, wherever in Vergil the words Hesperia, Hesperius, and Hesperis occur, the idea of the West is present, though not necessarily prominent. The ancients were keenly alive to etymological phenomena77. We with our hybrid English tongue cannot appreciate what certain words must have meant to a Greek or a Roman. We know that Hesperia and Western are derived from one root; still to us Hesperia cannot be 'the Western land'78, as it was to a Greek or

a Roman, or as it was to Aeneas, when he heard the name from Creusa. If this is so, we need not fancy that throughout Book 3 he was as oblivious of his wife's injunctions as the editors would have us believe;0,

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES, HUNTER COLLEGE.

E. ADELAIDE HAHN.

#### REVIEWS

Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions. By Sir John Edwin Sandys. Cambridge: at the University Press (1919). Pp. xxiv+324. \$3.75.

In his Preface (vii) Professor Sandys explains the genesis of this work-"the first introductory manual of Classical Latin Epigraphy to be published in England" (viii). When he undertook, as supervisor or general editor, the preparation of the well known volume, A Companion to Latin Studies, it was planned that the chapter on Latin Epigraphy should be written "by a recognized expert in the practical study of Roman inscriptions". Failing to find such expert, he was obliged to write the chapter himself; it occupies 37 pages of the book, with 22 illustrations. In 1916, encouraged by letters received from a teacher "in one of the lands across the sea", in which it was suggested that this chapter might serve as a basis for a short and inexpensive introduction to the study of Latin inscriptions, he began the labors which resulted in the volume under review.

The Contents of the book are as follows.

Preface, vii-xiii; List of Illustrations, xvi-xvii; Select Bibliography, xviii-xxiii; Chapter I, The Study of Latin Inscriptions. Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors (1-19); Chapter II, Modern Collections of Latin Inscriptions (20-33); Chapter III, Archaic Latin Inscriptions Latin Alphabet. Earliest Latin Inscriptions. tura monumentalis, actuaria, cursiva, uncialis. Shapes of the several letters. Ligatures. Punctuation. of the several letters. Ligatures. Functuation. Numerals. Process of making Inscriptions. Stamps. Scriptura vulgaris (34–58); Chapters IV-IX, Classification of Inscriptions (59–188), subdivided into Chapter IV, Epitaphs (59–82), Chapter V, Dedicatory Inscriptions (83–92), Chapter VI, Honorary Inscriptions: (A) Elogia, (B) Other Honorary Inscriptions. Cursus honorum (93-117), Chapter VII, Inscriptions on public works (118-142), Chapter VIII, Inscriptions on portable objects (143–155), Chapter IX, Documents (156–188); Chapter X, Language and Style (189–195); Chapter XI, Restoration and Criticism of Inscriptions (196-206); Appendix I, Roman Names (207-221), Appendix II, Roman Officials (Cursus honorum) (222-229), Appendix III, Roman Emperors (230-256). Appendix IV, Six historical inscriptions, as follows, Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus, 186 B.C. (257-258), res gestae divi Augusti (Mon. Ancyranum), 14 A. D. (258-276), Speech of Claudius in the Senate, 48 A. D. (276-280), Lex de Imperio Vespasiani, 70 A. D. (280-282), Hadriani adlocutio ad exercitum Africanum, 128 A. D. (282), Diocletiani edictum de

A little later, where Vergil assumes the native point of

r the case. Yet, if we paraphrase by 'the Land of the West', we overstress that should be latent and not patent. So, how shall we an idea that should be latent and not patent. So, how shall we translate Anchisiades (5.407; 6.126, 348; 8.521; 10.250, 822)?
On the last example see Glover, Virgill, 224, 313. Anchisiades itself is not natural or eloquent in English. To replace it by Aeneas is to say too little; to paraphrase by 'the son of Anchises' is to say

To much.

\*\*Byen if Aeneas both understood and remembered swife's words, he might well have disregarded them, he gives no heed to visions unless they unmistakably come from the gods, or from his father (practically a god to Aeneas). This point I hope to develop in a later paper.

pretiis rerum venalium, 301 A. D. (283–285), Appendix V, Sixty abbreviated inscriptions (286–290), Appendix VI, Abbreviations. List of abbreviations (291–311); Index (312–324).

Apart from the matter of size, one striking difference between this book and its predecessors in this field lies in the fact that much less space is devoted to the history and the chronological development of the Roman name, to the Cursus Honorum, and to the names and the titles of the Emperors and members of the Imperial family. On page 2 Professor Sandys declares that "a knowledge of all these points is no necessary part of the approach to the study of inscriptions. . .". The briefer treatment of these subjects is relegated to Appendixes I–III.

Chapter I, which, according to the Preface (viii), has no counterpart in any previous manual on Latin inscriptions, gives an exceedingly interesting account of the principal references to Latin inscriptions in classical authors, or quotations by such authors from Latin inscriptions—Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Livy, Varro, Cicero, Seneca, Petronius, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Suetonius, Martial, Gellius, etc.

Chapter II contains a good account of modern Collections of Latin Inscriptions, from that made, about 800 A.D., by the so-called Anonymus Einsiedlensis, to the time of the publication of this volume. The last page of this chapter (33) gives a somewhat hurried review of the Museums of Italy, France, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Great Britain, and the United States where Latin inscriptions are to be found. It is curious that Professor Sandys knew of only two such collections in the United States: at The Johns Hopkins University and at the University of Michigan. Yet, at the bottom of page 38, he tells us that casts of the famous Cippus, discovered in the Forum under the Lapis Niger, are to be found in the Museums of Harvard and The Johns Hopkins Universities. Writing of the Olcott Museum, Columbia University, in The Classical Weekly 9.98-99 (1916), Professor Helen Tanzer said, "While the inscriptions form the most important part of the collection. . .". The University of Pennsylvania has inscriptions: Professor Rolfe describes some of them in an article entitled The Latin Department's Collection of Antiquities, in the periodical formerly called Old Penn (now called The Pennsylvania Gazette), 13.873-877 (April 10, 1915). I have no doubt there are Latin inscriptions in many other Colleges and Universities in this country.

In Chapter III the development of the alphabet is traced from the very earliest times to at least 500 A.D., and is illustrated by some 15 Figures. These Figures include cuts of the Fibula Praenestina, the Cippus in the Forum, and the Duenos Inscription. The Fibula Praenestina is assigned to "about 600 B.C."; and it is held (38) that the inscription on the Cippus is "not later than the fifth century B.C.". To the inter-

pretation of the Duenos inscription Professor Sandys himself adds nothing (40-41); he gives most space to the views of Professor Conway. Without really indicating his own view, he states that "It is now generally admitted that the inscription should be interpreted as a curse". A very interesting section of this chapter is the one entitled Process of Making Inscriptions (56-58).

In Chapter IV there is first (60–65) a good account of the style (what a printer would call the 'style-sheet') of epitaphs. Among the actual epitaphs considered are of course the Scipio epitaphs (illustrated by Figures 17–21); two inscriptions on a Roman funerary altar, in the British Museum (finely illustrated by Figure 23); the epitaph on the tombstone of an eques singularis Augusti, in the British Museum; the inscription on a cenotaph of a Roman centurian, in the Bonn Museum; and that on an altar-tomb, in the Lyon Museum (finely illustrated by Figures 25–27).

In Chapter VI, which deals with Honorary Inscriptions, there is, of course, an account of the Columna Rostrata (95: see Figure 30, page 96). Only 14 lines, however, are given to the description; the most important statement here is to the effect that the only extant copy of the inscription, discovered in the Forum in 1565, is

ascribed, in its present state, to the early imperial age, and, in particular, to the time of Augustus or Claudius.

. . . archaic forms are inaccurately imitated.

In Classical Philology 14.74-82 (January, 1919). Professor Tenney Frank, in an article entitled The Columna Rostrata of C. Duilius, admitted the truth of the charge that this epitaph, as we now have it, is too rhetorical to be attributed to the Romans themselves in 260 B.C., a score of years before Latin literature can fairly be said to begin. He accounts for these characteristics by supposing that, in the absence of Roman models, Duilius-naturally-adopted the style of the Greek Honorific Inscriptions, to be seen in every city of Sicily (it is to be remembered that the First Punic War was fought, in part, in and about Sicily, and that the Columna Rostrata commemorated Duilius's naval victory off the coast of Sicily, near Mylae). Professor Frank holds further that the inscription goes back to 260 B.C., but that about 150 B.C. someone filled out certain places that had become illegible; this restorer naturally used the orthography of that day. Our extant version, he says in conclusion, is due to a second restoration made in the Early Empire. Considerable space is given also by Professor Sandys (97-103) to the inscriptions on the statues of the famous men of Rome, which were set up in various parts of the Forum of Augustus. Seven of these inscriptions are reproduced and discussed in detail. I note with interest that on page 16, and again on page 97, Professor Sandys states definitely that reference is made to these statutes and inscriptions by Horace, Carm. 4.8.3 f. It reminds me of my own suggestion, made in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.134, that in Carm. 1.12 Horace, in giving

his muster roll of the heroes of Rome, had these same statues in mind. Reference should be made also to the very penetrating and suggestive discussion of these statues, and the relation of Horace, Carm. 4.8 to them, by Mr. S. A. Hurlbut, in his paper, A Roman 'Hall of Pame', The Classical Weekly 13.162-168.

Chapter VII deals with inscriptions on temples, theaters, bridges, arches, aqueducts, roads, milestones, distance-slabs, boundary-stones, and seats in theaters.

In Chapter IX, the documents considered include treaties, laws, Senatus consulta, municipal decrees, decrees of magistrates under the Republic, documents connected with religious worship (such as inscriptions hung up in sacred groves, the leges templorum, inscriptions on altars, the Acta Collegii Fratrum Arvalium, decrees of collegia), the Fasti Consulares, Acta Triumphorum, calendars for farmers (such as the Menologia Rustica, given in full, 174–176), the Monumentum Ancyranum, military diplomas, private documents (wills, and waxed tablets, in cursive hand, recording the business transactions of the Pompeian banker, L. Caecilius Iucundus), curses, which were known as exsecrationes, defixiones, or devotiones, and, finally, the graffiti.

Chapter X, déaling with Language and Style, is interesting, so far as it goes. Professor Sandys begins by quoting a remark of J. H. Newman, in an article on Roman Literature, in the Encyclopedia Metropolitana 367 f. (1852), to the effect that "the perfection of strength <in style> is clearness united to brevity" . . . " to this combination Latin is utterly unequal. . . . <Latin> to be perspicuous must be full". Professor Sandys maintains that Latin inscriptions are frequently at once perspicuous and brief; the language of the inscriptions "like the Roman legal and technical style. . . commends itself by its clearness and precision". The inscriptions of the best times are usually brief, simple, and severe in style. There are interesting remarks on word-order (190-193). But nothing is said of the syntax of the inscriptions. Nor is there a conspectus of the inflectional forms to be found in the earlier inscriptions. Such a conspectus would prove very useful.

Of Appendixes I, II, III, there is space here to say only that they afford material enough for the guidance of all but the most profoundly interested students of inscriptions. To the average student of inscriptions these Appendixes ought to be especially helpful because they so well avoid the danger of overelaboration of the topics discussed.

To many, Appendix IV, Six Historical Inscriptions (257-285), will be especially interesting. The six inscriptions considered have been listed above in the transcript of the Table of Contents. In the Preface (ix), Professor Sandys explains that the basis of his text of the Monumentum Ancyranum is Mommsen's edition, made in 1883. He adds that he has examined, at first hand, almost all the widely scattered literature

on this subject, between 1883 and 1913, including the evidence supplied by

the diminutive fragments of the Latin text discovered in June, 1914, by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Antioch in Pisidia.

Since the principal difficulty of interpretation of inscriptions lies in the abbreviations which are so common in them, Appendix V presents sixty inscriptions which exemplify abbreviated phrases. Directly attached to this is Appendix VI, giving a list of abbreviations most likely to be of service to students. This list, while far shorter than the list of abbreviations to be found in such standard manuals as Professor Egbert's Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions, or Cagnat's Cours d'Epigraphie Latine, is still imposing enough (18 pages).

The book is everywhere heavily documented, by references both to ancient authors and to modern authorities. This practice is at once a source of strength, and at times, it seems to me, of weakness, in the book. It helps, of course, to keep down its size. But, on the other hand, to students in many—all too many—places, a large percentage of the books and articles referred to, in the footnotes, will be unfortunately inaccessible. Again, the material given for practice in reading inscriptions is not very ample. Professor Sandys doubtless had such a comment in mind when he wrote (Preface, xii),

For the beginner, probably the best course. . . would be to use, together with an introductory manual, some fairly comprehensive collection of select inscriptions, e.g. the two volumes of Wilmanns (1874), or the first two volumes (at least) of Dessau (1892–1916). One or both of these collections ought to be found in any large classical library.

But—unhappily—not every one is near a large classical library, and Wilmanns and Dessau are expressive. F. D. Allen, Remnants of Early Latin (1884), is cheap; so too is W. M. Lindsay, Handbook of Latin Inscriptions (Allyn and Bacon, 1897). Further, many students would welcome, I am sure, a more definite expression of opinion by Professor Sandys himself, in many places—e.g. as to the interpretation of such inscriptions as the Carmina Arvalia. Professor Sandys's discussion of this subscription throws no real light—it seems to me—upon its interpretation.

However, Professor Sandys, within the limits of 324 pages, not overlarge, has given us an extraordinarily useful book. His selection of topics is wise, and equally good judgment is shown in the inclusion and exclusion of material under the separate topics. The treatment is nearly always clear. The order of the several chapters seems to me good—especially the post-ponement to Appendixes of discussions of the Roman name, the Cursus Honorum, and of the names and the titles of the Roman Emperors. This postponement helps students to realize that the study of these matters ought to be a means to an end, and not an end in itself.

The Sequence of Tenses in Plautus. By Edward Hoch Heffner. A University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, privately printed, at Philadelphia (1917). Pp. 52.

Here is a reminder of "old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago", when the jousting knights of the Philological Association, then young, forgot lunch time in their concern over relative and absolute time. The dissertation is serviceable in bringing together in brief compass the sentences of Plautus that might provide ammunition for the Apollodorean regularists as well as for the Theodorean liberals. Dr. Heffner in the end declares for a rule of mechanical sequence.

The time has indeed arrived for a thorough study of the sequence-rule, but I fear that most readers will find this dissertation-limited perhaps by the exigencies of the war-somewhat too brief. It does not define what is meant by 'sequence', which may of course be conceived of as mechanically imposing violence upon the dependent verb, or as merely excluding from close subjunctive dependence such verbs as do not harmonize in time with the main verb. It does not apply the very serviceable criteria first employed by Professor Walker (The Sequence of Tenses in Latin: A Study Based on Caesar's Gallic War [privately printed, at Lawrence, Kansas, 1899; published also in The Kansas University Quarterly, Volume 7, No. 4]) to determine how far constructions permitting the indicative were preferred to those requiring the subjunctive when a shift in the time-sphere was necessary. It makes no attempt at giving full statistics for the rule of sequence in Plautus. It gives no clear statement of the theories that have been held by important foreign scholars. Finally, I fear the reader will frequently question Dr. Heffner's interpretation of various usages of the subjunctive where something more than the sequence-rule is involved. I will refer to a few illustrations of what seem to me inadequate interpretations.

Amph. 464, Amovi a foribus maximam molestiam, patri ut liceret tuto illam amplexarier, Dr. Heffner writes (40): "The act of liceret is clearly future relatively to the speaking and the secondary is there-fore mechanical". Dr. Heffner has several instances Dr. Heffner has several instances like this. If we call this mechanical sequence, we shall have to include hundreds of instances that we usually consider 'past futures' in purpose clauses; for surely we have no right to judge by our English usage of the 'present perfect' whether amori is primarily a present or a past perfect.

On page 38, Dr. Heffner discusses Most. 182–183: SC. Ita tu me ames, ita Philolaches tuo' te amet, ut venusta es. PH. Quid ais, scelesta? quo modo adiurasti? Ita ego istam amarem?

Of this he says: "Ita. . amarem, which is the reported form of ita Philoloaches tuos te amet, a wish for something in the future, is thrown into the secondary sequence because it is made to depend on adiurasti. But amarem is apparently nothing but amem quoted in scorn and would naturally stand in the imperfect tense quite apart from the interposition of adiurasti.

Again, on page 38, of Poen. 681-682, CO. Videre equidem vos vellem quom huic aurum darem. ADV. Illinc procul nos istuc inspectabimus, Dr. Heffner says: "Vellem is a potential subjunctive in the present. The temporal clause dependent on vellem refers therefore to the future, although we actually have the imperfect, which is due to mechanical sequence. Darem cannot possibly refer to the past. Note also inspectabimus, which is synchronous with darem". This is of course an instance of attraction of mood, and obviously it is

futile to discuss the tense apart from the mood when the subjunctive of 'unreality' is involved.

Dr. Heffner has, however, made a good beginning. The reviewer hopes that, with the knowledge of the problem attained in this effort, he will proceed to treat all phases of the intricate question in some later author. Cicero's Epistulae ad Familiares, that we may at last have a definitive statement of the case.

#### THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. TENNEY FRANK.

## PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF LIBERAL STUDIES

The Seventh Annual Meeting of The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies was held in the New Century Club, on March 19.

Under the direction of Miss Edith Rice, of the Germantown High School, a play, The Tragical Interlude of Pyramus and Thisbe, was presented in Latin. A group of pupils of the Germantown High School then gave a dance, The Pipes of Pan.

Following this Professor Paul Shorey presented a paper, Patriotism and the Classics. To listen to his perfect sentences was an aesthetic and intellectual treat. It was a strengthener of the faith, also, to hear so eminent a scholar advocate the Classics as the bulwark of patriotism in this country. Professor Shorey preaches no patriotism which is ashamed or apologetic. He shows that America must become a country of one language, that the tendency of different foreign communities to preserve their native speech has been a foe to Americanism. In this respect our case is different from that of the homogenous countries of Europe, where the native language is not threatened by the learning of a foreign. In America the teaching of a foreign language has often been a foe to American patriotism, both by encouraging foreigners to retain their own language, and also by presenting the ideals and customs of their native countries in such a light as to make America seem worse by contrast. Therefore the one foreign language to be taught in this country should be Latin. This, instead of being a disintegrating force, tends to strengthen the effective unity of the English speech.

The officers elected for the following year are: President, Reverend J. A. MacCallum; First Vice President, Dr. Laura H. Carnell; Second Vice-President, Dr. Francis Brandt; Secretary, Dr. Bessie R. Burchett; Treasurer, Mr. Fred J. Doolittle.

The President's annual report showed an unusually successful year for the Society. Two public meetings were held in Houston Hall. Under the auspices of the Society a series of six readings from the Classics was given at Houston Hall, by Professors of the Latin and Greek Departments of the University of Pennsylvania. The Lectureship Committee, under the Chairman, Miss Jessie E. Allen, arranged for several lectures. Under its auspices, also, Professor McDaniel presented to teachers of ancient history in the Public Schools some of the striking points in Roman history (see The CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.168). Another innovation was, the presentation of the moving picture, Julius Caesar in Witherspoon Hall. This performance was given especially for School children and the demand for tickets was so great that two performances were given.

Under the leadership of the President, Professor Hadzsits, a committee is now preparing a bibliography of articles on the value of the Classics.

BESSIE R. BURCHETT, Secretary.

## Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

Deutsche Literaturzeitung—Nov. 8, 1910, Ein Neuer Versuch über die Altgriechische Bühne, Carl Robert: F. Quilling, Die Juppiter Votivsäule der Mainzer-Canabarii (Ernst Mass). Discovery—Feb., Roman Trade Societies, E. V. Arnold: The Wars of Greek History, W. R. Halliday.

Educational Review—Feb., Education vs. Apprenticeship, John Nicholas Vedder [a plea for the liberal education, and an exposition of the dangers involved in neglecting it, with special tribute to the Classics].

Howard University Record—March, The Latin Element in English Speech, George M. Lightfoot.

Journal de Savants—Jan.—Feb.—Les Musées Archéologiques de L'Afrique du Nord, R. Cagnat [a review of the 18 volumes of Musées et Collections Archéologiques de la Algérie et de la Tunisie 1893-1913. The first five volumes of the series were reviewed in this Journal in 1893 and 1896 by Boissier, but since then great changes have taken place in the Museums—Musées d'Alger, d'Oran, de Constantine, de Lambese, et de Cherchal—discussed by him].

La Nouvelle Revue—Jan., Oedipe Roi de Thèbes, de M. St. Georges de Bouhélier, Henry Anstruy [criticism of the production of this play at the Cirque d'Hiver].—Feb., Fête Romaine, Étienne Raux [poem].

de Bouhélier, Henry Anstruy [criticism of the production of this play at the Cirque d'Hiver].—Peb., Pête Romaine, Étienne Raux [poem].

La Nouvelle Revue Prançaise.—Peb., Oedipe Roi de Thèbes de M. Saint Georges de Bouhélier, Henri Gheon [another criticism of the playe referred to above under La Nouvelle Revue].

London Mercury.—Peb., Blind Thamyris, T. Sturge Moore.

Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania.—Dec., 1919, Barly Vases from Apulia. Stephen B. Luce.

National Academy of Science, Proceedings.—Jan., Plato's Atlantis in Palaeogeography, William Diller Matthews [the author maintains that the classic story of Atlantis, supposed by some writers to be a genuine tradition, and to be supported by scientific evidence, is a fable].

New World.—Nov., 1919, Julius Caesar, Lord French and General Ludendorff, George H. Mair.

Philosophical Review.—Jan., Ernest Barker, Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors (P. Shorey).

Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.—Jan., 1919, Iscrizione Arcaica Inedita di Gortyna, D. Comparetti; II Tratto di Cicerone De Re Publica e Le Teorie di Polibio sulla Costituzione Romana, E. Ciaceri.

Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Litterature.—Nov. 15, 1910, J. C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases (S. Reinach).

Revue de Philosophie.—Nov.—Dec., 1919, Sur le Formation de la Philosophie Hellénique, J. Maritan [a fragment from the first part, to appear later, of a manual of philosophy now in preparation. The first part is devoted to a general introduction to philosophy, following, as far as possible, the method of Aristotle].

Aristotle].

Rivista Storica—April-June, 1919, Gaetano de Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, Vol. III, L'Età della Guerre Puniche (P. B.).—
July-Sept., P. Barocelli, Vada Sabatia (D. Muratore); Etienne,
A propos de l'Itinéraire d'Annibal dans les Alpes (P. B.);
M. Platnauer, The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius
Septimius Severus (P. B.); I. Pizzi. Giuliano l'Apostata
Secondo uno Scrittore Anonimo di Edesse (P. Lanzoni);
Oct.-Dec., Il Peticismo Primitivo in Italia e le sue Forme di
Adattamento (P. B.); E. Pais, Dalle Guerre Puniche a Cesare
Augusto (P. B.); P. Lanzoni. Santi Africani nella Basso
Italia e nelle Isole Adiacenti (P. Lugano).

Studies—March. The Ichneutae of Sophocles, ed. by Richard
Johnson Walker (J. J. C.); The Life and Reign of the Emperor
Lucius Septimius Severus (A. G.).

Yale Review—Jan., The Loeb Classical Library, 1916–1917 (Austin
Morris Harmon).

Yale Review—Jan., The Loeb Classical Library,
Morris Harmon).
Youth's Companion—March 18, Thinking in Latin [a brief but
enthusiastic account of the Direct Method as used in the
Perse School, citing the familiar "surgo" and "ambulo"
lessonal.

Distributorie—Heft I, 1919, Beiträge

Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie—Heft 1, 1910, Beiträge gur Romanischen Laut- und Formenlehre: Geschichte des sur Romanischen Laut- und Form Betonten Lat. au, W. Meyer-Lübke.

## THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA Twenty-fifth Anniversary Meeting

The 150th meeting of The Classical Club of Phila-delphia was held on Friday, April 16. Forty-eight members and guests were present at a Birthday Dinner, the menu of which was as follows:

Ius Simile Testudineo.

Ne male conditum ius apponatur. Horace. Apium Graveolens.

Neu desint epulis rosae, neu rivax apium. Horace.

Lecta de pinguissimis oliva ramis arborum

Horace.

Assa Gallina. Dic me igitur tuom passerculum, gallinam, coturnicem. Plautus.

Solana Tuberosa Suavia in Saccharo Cocta. Quaeque bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine sucos. Lucan.

per hiemem irnea conservatae Pisae nunc virides de cultro se cito volvunt. Anon. Interiora Lactucae cum Aceto Bolshevikorum.

Grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum. Vergil.

HE. Scis bene esse, si sit unde. ER. Muraenam, atque ophthalmiam, horaeum scombrum et trugonum et cetum et mollem caseum.

Plautus.

Liba Fragilia. Plena domus libis venalibus. Juvenal.

Cremor Lactis Glacie Concretus. Tum glacies devicta liquescit. Lucretius.

Placentae. Egeo iam mellitis placentis. Horace.

Coffea Nigra sive Lactata. Vide quot cyathos bibimus. Plautus. Fumisugia.

umisugia. Fumisugiuncula. PH. Oculi dolent. AD. Quor? PH. Quia fumus molestus est. Plautus.

Vinum Bryanicum Zingiberale.

Ne intuearis vinum quando flavescit, cum splenduerit in vitro color eius: ingreditur blande; sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber et sicut regulus venena diffundet. Solomon.

The proceedings of the meeting were conducted, so far as possible, in Latin. Professor John C. Rolfe read

the following Latin poem:

Praeteriere citi, comites, feliciter anni: noctibus accedunt centum bene quinquaginta. Tempora laeta vocant sollemnia concelebrare, volventes animis veterum monumenta virorum.

Vidimus interea tristis certamina Martis, vidimus et comites terris altoque merentes. Conditor ille hostes inter numeratur, ineptus qui populo externo posset mutare penates

Nunc iterum pax arva colit, restante Senatu, at belli factis multo asperiora videmus. Stulti nam vinum prohibent, et, volvere fumum quamvis concedant, tamen id pro crimine ducunt.

Improbus, a! pereat, qui se insinuans pede felis, virtutis simulator et effusissimus auri. corrupitque senatores populumque fefellit. Mox in Tartareo demersus gurgite, frustra imploret liquidi cyathum, circumdatus igni!

Di meliora duint! Et aquam nunc ducite, amici, doctrina et sicca cunctantes fallite noctes. Durum; at nos etiam "Haec olim meminisse iuvabit" pocula siccantes per umida tempora laetos. Ne sit perpetuo nobis patria arida nutrix.

The paper of the evening was read by a charter mem-ber of the Club, Professor Wilfrid P. Mustard, of The Johns Hopkins University, on Petrarch's Africa. poem is a Latin epic on the Second Punic War, for which Petrarch was crowned at Rome and on which, rather than on his Italian sonnets, he based his hopes of literary immortality. Professor Mustard analyzed the poem, with numerous quotations, discussed its Latinity and its meter, and spoke of the classical influences revealed in it. The first two books are a clever adaptation of the Somnium Scipionis, while the others rather closely follow Livy. There are many original features in all the books. Petrarch was not influenced by Silius Italicus's poem on the Second Punic War, for this was not discovered for seventy-five years after the Africa was written; but there are many evidences that the author was familiar with the Thebais of Statius.

The officers elected for the coming year were as fol-lows: President, Mr. G. L. Plitt, West Philadelphia High School; Vice-President, Professor H. B. Van Deventer, University of Pennsylvania; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. B. W. Mitchell, Central High School. B. W. MITCHELL, Secretary.

# LINGVAE ANTIQVAE NVM MORIBVNDAE?

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